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The Latin Coins of Caracalla from Edessa in Osrhoene

EDWARD DANDROW¹

[PLATES 22-24]

Introduction

DURING the sole reign of Caracalla a city known as Colonia Metropolis Antoniniana Aurelia Alexandria in Mesopotamia (Osrhoene) issued a series of small bronze coins with obverse and reverse legends in Latin (M AVR ANTONINVS AVG / COL MET ANTONINIANA AVR ALEX) and a bust of Tyche on the reverse. Since Eckhel, these coins have been attributed to Carrhae.² He based this identification on a single specimen found in the University of Vienna's collection, the reverse legend of which he read as COL AVR METROPOLI ANTONINIANA CA (Pl. 22, 1).³ The letters CA, which he interpreted as an abbreviation for Carrhae, were essential to his argument, and his identification of this city as the mint for the Latin coins has predominated.⁴ Hill recognized the weakness of Eckhel's proposal, based as it was on a single coin; nonetheless, he assigned the Latin coins to Carrhae in *BMC* (1922, pp. xc, 85-87, nos 16-44). Subsequent publications such as Lindgren, the *SNG* series and auction catalogues, and attributions in museum collections have perpetuated this identification.⁵

Over the past century, however, new numismatic finds and papyrological evidence discovered in Dura-Europos and the middle Euphrates region undermine Eckhel's attribution, and instead point to Edessa as COL MET ANTONINIANA AVR ALEX. This reattribution marks a significant addition to our knowledge of the coinage of Edessa since Babelon's study of that city's coins in 1893, and aids our understanding of Rome's acquisition of the city and its territory following Caracalla's deposition of its king, Severus Abgar IX, in 212/13. Little is known about these coins, and so this reattribution offers an opportunity to examine the coins more fully in terms of typology, die-analysis, and iconography.

¹ University of Central Florida. The following abbreviations, in addition to the standard *NC* list, are used. Harvard = Harvard University Art Museum; Yale = Yale University Art Museum.

² Eckhel 1828 part 1, vol. 3, p. 508.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 508.

⁴ Mionnet 1837, pp. 384-85, nos. 9-14, proposed Bostra as the mint for these coins, an attribution based on misreading the legend and rightly rejected by scholars.

⁵ For example, see ANS 1944.100.65821-27, 1947.97.534, 1949.18.21-22, 1971.193.29, and 1974.26.4306; BnF 1881-87, 1889-93, 1994.289, AA.GR 5155, F 10486, M 5511; BnF, Chandon de Briailles 1177 and 1180-82; BnF, Luynes 3467-68; Lindgren I 2565; *SNG* Copenhagen 177-184; *SNG* Hunterian 2485-91; *SNG* Newcastle 825; *SNG* Righetti 2563-68; Yale 1938.6000.1655, 1659, 1665-67, 2538-9, 2001.87.9455-6, 9458-64, 9467, 13473-74, 2004.6.3735.

Because this article is the first detailed study of this coinage, it begins by identifying the various types of Latin coins and a die study in order to understand the relationships between the different types and their production. Then it reassigns the coinage to Edessa by addressing four main issues: (1) the reading of CA and the problem of legend errors on the Latin coins; (2) continued production of small bronze coins with Greek legends for Caracalla at Carrhae from AD 212-217; (3) the problem of civic nomenclature on the Latin coins in light of papyrological evidence; and (4) the discrepancy between the iconography of the Latin coins and that of the coinage of Carrhae.

Coin Types and Die Analysis

This study is based on a sample of 230 coins drawn from various published collections, museums, auction catalogues and internet sources (online auction sites, and dealers' and collectors' websites), and the author's collection. All coins are made from the same material and have the same style. They are divided into five types based on the reverse image and legends: a turreted and draped bust of Tyche facing right with the legends for Types 1 and 3-5 based on the formula COL MET ANTONINIANA AVR ALEX and Type 2 coins based on COL AVR METROPOLI ANTONINIANA. Type 3 coins also have a cornucopia in the field before the bust of Tyche, while Type 4 coins have a serpent. All coins have on the obverse a bearded bust of Caracalla wearing a laureate crown and facing right. Type 5 coins have a wreath in the field before the bust. The full obverse legend for Types 1 and 3-5 is M AVR ANTONINVS PF AVG, while Type 2 has IMP CAES M AVR ANTONINVS PF AVG. As shown below, numerous coins have abbreviated and erroneous obverse and reverse legends. At least 87 obverse and 150 reverse dies were used to produce the 230 coins for this study. A catalogue of the coins based on type now follows. The coins are placed in order based on obverse dies.

TYPE 1

OBVERSE DIES

O1 MAVRANTO-NINVS-PFAVC	O17 MAVRANT-ONIN-VSPFAVC
O2 []	O18 []-ON-VCPR[]
O3 MAVRANTON-INVS[]	O19 MAVRANT-ONINVSPFAVC
O4 MAVRANTO-NINVSPFICC	O20 MAVR[]C
O5 IMPCAES-ANTONINV	O21 MAVRFNT-O-NVSPFAVT
O6 IMCANTO-NINV	O22 MAVRANTO-NINV-SPFAVT
O7 MAVRANT-[]	O23 MAVRANTO-NINVSPFAVC
O8 MAVRANTO-NIN-VSPFAVC	O24 MAVRANTO-NINV-SPFA-VG
O9 MAVRANTONINVSPFAVC	(S reversed)
O10 MAVRANTONINVS[]	O25 MAVRANTO-NINVSPVC
O11 MAVRANTONI-NVS-PFAVC	O26 AVTOSI-[]
O12 MAVRANT-ON-INVSA[]	O27 MAVRANTON-INVSPFAVT
O13 []NON-MAPCVV[]	O28 MAVRANTONIN-VAFAC
O14 MAVRANT-[]	O29 MAVRANTO-NINVSPFAVT
O15 MAVRANTO-NINVSPFAVC	O30 MAVRANTO-[]
O16 MAVR[ANTO-J]NIN[]	O31 MAVRTTOI-NNV[]AV[]

O32 METANT-[]-AFCA
 O33 MAVRANTON-INVSPFAVT
 O34 MAVRANTONI-NVSPFAVC
 O35 MAVRANTO-NINV-SPFAVT
 O36 []
 O37 MAVRANTON-INVSPFAVC
 O38 MAVRANTON-INVSPFAVC
 O39 MAVRANTO-NINVSPFAVC
 O40 MAVRANTONI-NVCPFAVC
 O41 MAVRANTO-NINV-SPFAVC
 O42 MAVRANT-ONINVS[]
 O43 MAVRANTONI-HVS[]
 O44 METANTO-NINIANA AAVFAI
 O45 MAVRANTO-NIN-VSPFAVC

O46 MAAANTONIN-VCCIAVC
 O47 MAVRANTON-INV-SPFAVT
 O48 MAVRANTON-INVCPFAVT
 O49 MAVRANTO-NINV-SPFA
 (S reversed)
 O50 MAVFSTO-NIN[]PFCCC
 O51 MAVRANTON-INVCP[]
 O52 MAVPANT-O-IIIIVSAV
 O53 MAVPANTO-IIIAC
 O54 MAVRANTO-NINVSPFAVC
 O55 MAVRANTONINVS[]V[]
 O56 MAVRANTO-N[]
 O57 MAVRANT-ON[]
 O58 MAVRANTO-NIN-VPFAV

REVERSE DIES

R1 COIMERANTO-NINIANA AAVI-X
 R2 COIMETANT-ONINIANA
 R3 COIMETANTON-INIANA AAV-RAIEX
 R4 [COIMETANT]-ONINIA
 R5 COIMETANT-ONINIAN
 R6 COIMETANTO-NINIANA AAVP
 R7 COIMETANT-[]N
 R8 COIMETANTONNIANA
 R9 COIMETANT-ONINIAN
 R10 COIMETANT-ONINIANA
 R11 COIMETANTO-NINIANA
 R12 [COIMETA]NT-ONINIANA
 R13 []AV
 R14 COLMETANTONINIANA AAVR
 R15 COLMETANTON-INIANA AAVRAIEX
 R16 COIMETANTONINIANA AAVPAI-E-X
 R17 COLMETANTO-NINIANA
 R18 COIMETANT-ONINIANA
 R19 [COIMETANT-ONI]NIANA
 R20 [COIMETANTONI]NIANA
 R21 COIMETANTONINI-ANA AAV
 R22 COIMETANTON-INIANA AAYIAIA
 R23 COIMETANT-ONINIANA
 R24 COIMETANT-ONINIANA•
 R25 COIMETANTO-NIN[]
 R26 COIMETA-NTONINAN
 R27 COIMETANT-[]
 R28 [COI]METANT-ONINANAN
 R29 COIMETANT-O-[NIN]-IANA
 R30 COIMETANTO-NINIANA A
 R31 [COI]METANT-ON[IN]IANA
 R32 COIMETANTO-NINIANA AAVI
 R33 [COIM]ETANTO-NI[]

R34 COLMETANTO-NINIANA AAV
 R35 COIMETANTONI-NIANA AAV-RAIEX
 R36 COETANT-ONINIANA AAV-RAIEX
 R37 COLMETANT-ONINIANA AAVRAIEX
 R38 COIMETANTONININIANA AAVRA-[IEX]
 R39 COLMETANT-ONINIANA AAVI
 R40 COIMETANT-[ONINIANA]NA
 (final A is on its side)
 R41 COIMETAV-TONINIANA
 R42 COIMETANTO-NINIANA A-V
 R43 COIMETANTO-NINIANA AAV-R
 R44 COIMETANTO-NINIANA A[VP]
 R45 COIMETANTONI-NIANA AAVRAI-EX
 R46 COIMETANTON-IHIANA AAV-RAIEX
 R47 COLMETANT-ONINIANA AAV-EG-CX
 R48 COLMETANTO-NINIANA AAVRFIEX
 R49 []-NIN[]-V-E-X
 R50 COIMETANTO-NINIANA AAVR
 R51 COLMETANTO-NINIANA AAVP-AIEX
 R52 COLMETANTONIN-IANA AAVRAIEX
 R53 COIMETANT-ONINIANA AAVPA-IEEX
 R54 COIMETANTON-INIANA AAVP-AIEX
 R55 COIMTANTON-INIANA AAV-PAIEX
 R56 []ANTON-[]
 R57 COIMETANTONININIANA AAVRAI-[EX]
 R58 COIMETANT-ONINIANA A-VRA-IEEX
 R59 [COIMETANTO]-NINIANAV
 R60 []NTO-NINVPI[]
 R61 COIMETANTON-INIANA AAVRAI-E-X
 R62 COIMETANT-ONINIANA A
 R63 COIMETANT-ONINIA[]
 R64 CO[IMETAN]TO-NINIANA A
 R65 COIMETANTO-NINIANA AAV-P-AIEX

R66 COLMETANTONINIANAΛVR-Λ[LEX]	R76 COIMETANT-[]
R67 COLMETANTON-INIANAΛVRALEX	R77 COIMETANTO-[]
R68 COIMETANTON-INIANAΛVPALEX	R78 COIMETANTO-[]
R69 []N-TO-[]	R79 COIMETANT-ONI-NIANA
R70 COIMETANTON-INIANAΛVR-ΛI-EX	R80 [COIME]TANT-ONINIA[]
R71 COIMETANTO-[NINI]ANAΛVP-E-X	R81 COIMEANTO-[NINIA]NAN
R72 COIMETANT-ONINIANAΛ-EX	R82 COIME[]-NAG (Γ reversed)
R73 COIMETANTO-NINIANAΛVP	R83 COIMETANTO-NINIANAΛV-E-[X]
R74 COIMETANTON-[]	R84 COIMETANTO-NINIAN[]
R75 COLMETANTO-[]	R85 COIMETAN-TONIN[]

COINS

Coin	Obv./Rev.	Size; weight; axis	References and (where identified) die-duplicates
1/1.	O1/R1	20.0 mm; 4.34g; 6h	Ashmolean Museum
1/2.	O1/R2	18.3 mm; 3.17g; 6h	Yale 2001.87.13473. Yale 2004.6.3735 (15.0 mm; 2.59g; 6h)
1/3.	O1/R3	20.0 mm; 3.65g; 6h	SNG Milan XII, 4, 84, 12
1/4.	O2/R4	n/a; 3.14g; n/a	BnF AA.GR.25935
1/5.	O3/R5	n/a; 3.10g; 6h	BnF 1890
1/6.	O4/R5	18.3 mm; 3.37g; 12h	Forum Ancient Coins VCoins website (25068)
1/7.	O5/R2	20 mm; 3.6g; 6h	bienie0179 eBay sale
1/8.	O5/R6	17.0 mm; 3.34g; 6h	SNG Milan XII, 4, 84, 18
1/9.	O6/R2	n/a; 2.85g; 6h	BnF, Luynes 3468
1/10.	O6/R7	16.5 mm; 2.51g; 6h	SNG Righetti 2565
1/11.	O6/R8	19.0 mm; 3.80g; 6h	Romae Aeternae Numismatics eBay auction (BB0308)
1/12.	O7/R9	15.0 mm; 1.99g; 6h	Gert Boersema (MA Shops)
1/13.	O8/R10	n/a; 4.40g; 6h	BnF, Chandon de Briailles 1182
1/14.	O9/R10	20.0 mm; 5.01g; 6h	Lindgren I 2565
1/15.	O10/R11	19.5 mm; 5.19g; 5h	SNG Righetti 2564
1/16.	O11/R12	19.3 mm; 3.64g; 5h	SNG Righetti 2567
1/17.	O11/R13	18.9 mm; 4.89g; 3h	Yale 1938.6000.2538
1/18.	O11/R14	n/a; 5.49g; n/a	BnF, Chandon de Briailles 1177
1/19.	O11/R15	21.0 mm; 5.41g; 6h	SNG Copenhagen 180
1/20.	O11/R16	21.6 mm; 4.41g; 6h	BMC 24
1/21.	O12/R17	17.9 mm; 3.11g; 6h	Forum Ancient Coins VCoins website (RP60410)
1/22.	O12/R18	18.0 mm; 3.45g; 6h	BMC 16A
1/23.	O13/R19	18.0 mm; n/a; n/a	David Connors VCoins website (w9416)
1/24.	O14/R20	17.0 mm; 3.82g; 7h	Roma Numismatics VCoins website (4470)
1/25.	O15/R20	18.0 mm; 4.80g; 6h	SNG Milan XII, 4, 84, 16
1/26.	O15/R21	n/a; 5.00g; n/a	BnF 1889
1/27.	O15/R22	20.0 mm; n/a; n/a	Bassem.D eBay auction 14.1.2014
1/28.	O16/R23	17.0 mm; 4.02g; 6h	SNG Milan XII, 4, 84, 17
1/29.	O17/R24	16 mm; 2.83g; 6h	SNG Hunterian 2489
1/30.	O17/R25	20.4 mm; 4.69g; 6h	SNG Righetti 2563
1/31.	O18/R26	17.7 mm; 2.70g; 6h	Yale 2001.87.9459. Yale 2001.87.9464 (17.6 mm; 3.51g; 6h)

1/32.	O18/R27	18.0 mm; 4.12g; n/a	Sphinx Numismatics (539HM3)
1/33.	O19/R28	18.0 mm; 3.30g; 6h	CNG 160, 253
1/34.	O20/R28	17 mm; 2.75g; 4h	Triton XIV, A.K. coll. 563, G011
1/35.	O21/R8	19.1 mm; 3.91g; 6h	<i>BMC</i> 27. Author's collection (19.0 mm; 3.1g; 6h)
1/36.	O22/R6	20.0 mm; 4.00g; 6h	CNG 224, 477. www.wildwinds.com (18.0 mm; 3.44g; 6h)
1/37.	O22/R29	19.5 mm; 4.19g; 5h	Ashmolean Museum
1/38.	O22/R30	n/a; 4.73g; 6h	BnF 1891. <i>SNG</i> Milan XII, 4, 84, 15 (17.0 mm; 3.60g; 6h). <i>iNumis</i> 16, 192 (18.5 mm; 4.85g; 6h)
1/39.	O22/R31	20.5 mm; n/a; 6h	Author's collection
1/40.	O22/R32	18.0 mm; 3.5g; 5h	Author's collection
1/41.	O22/R33	17.0 mm; 4.15g; 6h	<i>SNG</i> Milan XII, 4, 84, 11
1/42.	O23/R21	19.9 mm; 3.38g; 6h	Yale 1938.6000.1593
1/43.	O24/R34	n/a; 5.22g; n/a	BnF AA.GR.17411
1/44.	O24/R35	n/a; 4.60g; 6h	BnF M 5516 (1892)
1/45.	O24/R36	n/a; 6.18g; 12h	BnF 1886
1/46.	O24/R37	n/a; 5.46g; n/a	BnF 1884
1/47.	O24/R38	n/a; 4.92g; n/a (n/a; 4.30g; 6h)	BnF 1885. Münzhandlung Ritter (MA Shops)
1/48.	O25/R34	17.0 mm; 4.12g; 6h	<i>SNG</i> Newcastle 825
1/49.	O25/R39	n/a; 2.86g; 6h	BnF F 10486. Arminius Numismatics (19 mm; 3.11g; 12h)
1/50.	O25/R40	19.0 mm; 4.8g; n/a	coin.medal.collection eBay auction 7.2.2014
1/51.	O25/R41	17.8 mm; 4.15g; 6h	<i>BMC</i> 25
1/52.	O26/R36	21.5 mm; n/a; 6h	Author's collection
1/53.	O26/R42	20.0 mm; 4.95g; 6h	Author's collection
1/54.	O27/R42	n/a; 5.20g; n/a	BnF AA.GR.17409
1/55.	O27/R43	n/a; 4.64; n/a	BnF 1994.289. CNG 160, 252 (19 mm; 4.38g; n/a)
1/56.	O27/R44	19.0 mm; 4.45g; 6h	<i>SNG</i> Hunterian 2487
1/57.	O27/R45	18.0 mm; 6.04g; n/a	eBay auction
1/58.	O27/R46	22.0 mm; 6.37g; 6h	Rutten and Wieland VCoins website
1/59.	O28/R42	20.3 mm; 4.06g; 12h	<i>BMC</i> 2
1/60.	O29/R47	20 mm; 5.11g; 6h	<i>SNG</i> Hunterian 2486
1/61.	O29/R48	18.0 mm; 4.98g; 6h	<i>SNG</i> Milan XII, 4, 84, 9
1/62.	O30/R49	20.3 mm; 4.25g; 6h	Forum Ancient Coins VCoins website (RP67880)
1/63.	O31/R6	n/a; 3.30g; n/a	Münzen Sänn (MA Shops)
1/64.	O32/R50	21.0 mm; 4.04g; n/a	Lucernae VCoins website. Ancient Imports VCoins website (19.35 mm; 4.44g; n/a)
1/65.	O33/R15	20.0 mm; 5.4g; n/a	areich (Forum Ancient Coins Members' Gallery)
1/66.	O33/R51	n/a; 4.74g; n/a	BnF AA.GR.1116
1/67.	O34/R15	n/a; 4.49g; 6h	Harvard 1979.419.188
1/68.	O34/R52	n/a; 5.89g; 6h	BnF 1887
1/69.	O34/R53	19.0 mm; 5.39g; 6h	Ashmolean Museum
1/70.	O35/R54	20.0 mm; 4.82g; 6h	<i>SNG</i> Milan XII, 4, 82, 10
1/71.	O35/R55	n/a; 5.72g; n/a	BnF AA.GR.1115
1/72.	O36/R56	21.3 mm; 4.80g; 6h	Yale 2001.87.9455
1/73.	O37/R57	21.0 mm; 4.05g; 6h	CNG 168, 213
1/74.	O38/R58	n/a; 3.84g; 6h	BnF 1883
1/75.	O39/R45	n/a; 4.79g; 6h	BnF, Chandon de Briailles 1180

1/76.	O39/R55	19.0 mm; 5.19g; 12h	<i>SNG</i> Milan XII, 4, 82, 8
1/77.	O40/R45	20.3 mm; 5.07g; 6h	<i>BMC</i> 19. Ashmolean Museum (New College) (20.0 mm; 4.15g; 6h)
1/78.	O40/R59	18.0 mm; 5.48g; n/a	denant eBay auction (6.12.2013)
1/79.	O41/R16	18.0 mm; n/a; 6h	ecoli (Forum Ancient Coins Members' Gallery)
1/80.	O42/R60	17.0 mm; 3.95g; 6h	Gert Boersema VCoins website
1/81.	O43/R61	19.0 mm; 5.05g; 6h	CNG 203, 418
1/82.	O44/R61	19.0 mm; 4.02g; n/a	Zurqieh Co. VCoins website
1/83.	O44/R62	20.3 mm; 3.68g; 6h	<i>BMC</i> 29
1/84.	O44/R63	19.5 mm; 3.34g; 6h	<i>SNG</i> Copenhagen 181
1/85.	O45/R55	19.0 mm; 4.4g; 6h	Numismatik Lanz eBay auction
1/86.	O45/R64	19.0 mm; 4.9g; 6h	Author's collection
1/87.	O46/R65	21.6 mm; 6.16g; 6h	<i>BMC</i> 16
1/88.	O47/R51	19.1 mm; 5.50g; 6h	<i>BMC</i> 17
1/89.	O47/R66	19.1 mm; 4.09g; 6h	<i>BMC</i> 18
1/90.	O48/R67	21.6 mm; 5.07g; 6h	<i>BMC</i> 20
1/91.	O48/R68	20.0 mm; 5.83g; 6h	Ashmolean Museum
1/92.	O48/R69	18.8 mm; 3.39g; 6h	<i>SNG</i> Righetti 2566
1/93.	O49/R70	20.3 mm; 4.91g; 6h	<i>BMC</i> 21
1/94.	O50/R70	18.0 mm; n/a; n/a	David Connors VCoins website. Kerux (Tantaluscoins.com) (17.0 mm; 3.70g; 12h). leisa (Tantaluscoins.com) (19.0 mm; 3.30g; 6h)
1/95.	O51/R3	n/a; n/a; n/a	Private Syrian collection
1/96.	O51/R71	20.3 mm; 4.41g; 6h	<i>BMC</i> 23. Lanz eBay auction 8.4.2014 (231191392922) (17.0 mm; 4.8g; n/a)
1/97.	O52/R72	19.1 mm; 3.72g; 6h	<i>BMC</i> 28
1/98.	O53/R32	20.3 mm; 3.44g; 5h	<i>BMC</i> 30
1/99.	O54/R73	19.5 mm; 4.72g; 6h	<i>SNG</i> Hunterian 2485
1/100.	O54/R74	19.5 mm; 4.87g; 5h	Ashmolean Museum (New College)
1/101.	O55/R75	19.0 mm; 5.76g; 6h	<i>SNG</i> Copenhagen 177
1/102.	O56/R76	n/a; 3.42g; 6h	BnF 1990A
1/103.	O57/R77	17.0 mm; 3.46g; 6h	Ashmolean Museum (Bodleian)
1/104.	O58/R?	20.4 mm; 5.02g; 6h	Yale 2001.87.9467
1/105.	O-/R2	16.8 mm; 2.92g; 6h	Yale 2001.87.9462
1/106.	O-/R2	20.0 mm; 4.1g; 6h	Ancient Coins Canada eBay sale
1/107.	O-/R2	17.0 mm; 3.22g; n/a	Zurqieh Co. VCoins website (6066)
1/108.	O-/R2	18.0 mm; 3.67g; 6h	Ashmolean Museum
1/109.	O-/R6	17.9 mm; 3.11g; 6h	Forum Ancient Coins VCoins website (RP60410)
1/110.	O-/R10	n/a; n/a; n/a	Private Syrian collection
1/111.	O-/R27	18.6 mm; 4.08g; 12h	Yale 1938.6000.1655
1/112.	O-/R54	20.0 mm; 4.83g; n/a	denant eBay auction 5/ 17/ 2013
1/113.	O-/R57	n/a; 4.18; n/a	Harvard 1979.419.186
1/114.	O-/R66	20.0 mm; 4.9g; 6h	Author's collection
1/115.	O-/R78	19.0 mm; 4.75; 6h	<i>SNG</i> Copenhagen 179
1/116.	O-/R79	20.3 mm; 4.51g; 6h	<i>BMC</i> 22
1/117.	O-/R80	18.0 mm; n/a; n/a	Nemesis Ancient Coins VCoins website (hr1039)
1/118.	O-/R81	17.5 mm; 3.99g; 6h	<i>SNG</i> Copenhagen 182
1/119.	O-/R82	18.0 mm; 3.51g; n/a	Emerald Imports eBay sale (item 41225)
1/120.	O-/R83	20.0 mm; 3.89g; 6h	Kerux (Tantaluscoins.com) = Beast Coins VCoins website (item 25762)

1/121.	O-/R84	18.2 mm; 3.4g; n/a	ancientground eBay auction 16.2.2014
1/122.	O-/R85	19.0 mm; 4.06g; 6h	SNG Copenhagen 178
1/123.	O-/R-	21.4 mm; 4.44; 6h	Yale 2001.87.9456
1/124.	O-/R-	20.4 mm; 5.15g; 6h	Yale 2001.87.9458
1/125.	O-/R-	17.0 mm; 3.22g; n/a	Zurqieh Co. VCoins website
1/126.	O-/R-	n/a; 3.53g; 6h	Harvard 1979.419.187
1/127.	O-/R-	18.9 mm; 3.4g; n/a	The Time Machine Co. VCoins website
1/128.	O-/R-	20.0 mm; 5.4g; 6h	podiceps (Forum Ancient Coins Members' Gallery)

Type 1: This is the most common of the five types, with a bearded bust of Caracalla wearing a laureate crown and facing right on the obverse. The bust itself has two styles, defined by either beaded hair and beard or long hair and beard. The obverse legend reads M AVR ANTONINVS PF AVG, although three specimens have IM C [] ANTONINV and one has IMP CAES ANTONINV.⁶ The most commonly encountered obverse dies are **O22** (9 specimens), **O24** and **O27** (6 specimens each), and **O1** and **O25** (5 specimens each). On the reverse is a bust of Tyche wearing a mural crown, draped and veiled, and facing right. The most common reverse legend on this type is COL MET ANTONINIANA AVR ALEX (see **Pl. 22, 2**), although there are many variants. The most commonly encountered reverse dies are **R2** (8 specimens); **R6** and **R70** (4 specimens each); and **R8**, **R15**, **R42**, **R45** and **R55** (3 specimens each). **O22/R30** and **O50/R70** (3 specimens each) are the most common die combinations. The typical die orientation for Type 1 coins is 180 degrees (6 o'clock). The 142 specimens constituting this type range in size and weight 15 - 22 mm and 1.99g - 6.37g, with a mean of 19.06 mm (SD: 1.168 mm) and 4.29g (SD: 0.768g).

TYPE 2

OBVERSE DIES

O1	IMPCAESMAVRANTONINVSPFAVT
O2	IMPCAES-MAVR-ANTONINVSPE
O3	IMPCAES[]
O4	IMPCAESMAVRAN[]
O5	IMPCAESMANTONINVSPFAVT
O6	[IMPCAES]ANTONINVSPFAVG
O7	IMPCAESMAVRANTON[INVS]
O8	IMPCAESM[]
O9	IMCCAFS-MAVRANTONINVSPC
O10	IMPCAESMA-VRANTONINVS[]
O11	IMPCAESMAVRANTONINVSPVT
O12	IMPCAES-M[]ANTON[]AVT
O13	[IMPCAES]FAV
O14	[]ΩΙΙΙV
O15	[]MAVRANT[]

⁶ BnF, Luynes 3468; SNG Copenhagen 181; and bienie0179 eBay auction (May 2013, item 221214641087). All have the same reverse legend COL MET ANTONINIANA.

REVERSE DIES

R1	COLAVRME-TROPOLIA NTONI
R2	COLAVRME-TROPOLI[ANTO]NINI
R3	COLAVRMET-ROPOLIA NTONINI
R4	COLAVRMET[ROPOLIA NTONI]NIAN
R5	COLAVRMETR-OPOLIA NTONIN
R6	[COLAVRMETROP]OLIA NTONINIAN
R7	COLAVRMETROPOLIA NTONIN
R8	COLAVRMET-ROPOLIA NTONINI
R9	[COLAVRMETROP]OLIA NTONINIANA
R10	[COLAVRMETR]OPOLIA NTONINIANA
R11	COLAVRM[ETROPOLIA]NTONINIANA
R12	COLAVRME[TROPOLI]ANTONINIANAE•
R13	COLAVR[METR]-O-LIA NTONINIAN
R14	COLAVRMETROPOLIA NTONINIANA
R15	COLAVRMETRO-POLIA NTONINIANA]E[?]
R16	COLAVRME[TROP]OLIA NTONINIANAF
R17	COLAVRMETRO-POLIA NTONINIANACA
R18	[COLAVRMETR]-OPOLIA NTONINIAN
R19	COLAVRMETROPOLIA NTONINIANAF
R20	COLAVRETR[OPOLIA NTON]INIAN
R21	COIAVRMETP-OP-O[]
R22	[COLAVRMETROPOLI]ANTONINIANA
R23	COLAVR[METROPOLIA NT]ONINIANAF
R24	COLAVRME[]OCEALEX

COINS

<i>Coin</i>	<i>Obv./Rev.</i>	<i>Size; weight; axis</i>	<i>References and (where identified) die-duplicates</i>
2/1.	O1/R1	15.2 mm; 2.42g; 6h	<i>BMC</i> 35
2/2.	O1/R2	15.5 mm; 2.43g; 12h	Ashmolean Museum (New College)
2/3.	O1/R3	13 mm; 2.01g; 12h	<i>SNG</i> Hunterian 2491
2/4.	O1/R4	15 mm; 2.50g; 11h	CNG 196, 177
2/5.	O2/R5	n/a; 2.16g; 6h	BnF 1881
2/6.	O3/R6	13.2 mm; 1.34g; 6h	Yale 1938.6000.1665
2/7.	O4/R7	16.2 mm; 1.65g; 6h	Yale 1938.6000.1667
2/8.	O5/R2	n/a; 1.94g; 6h	BnF 1882
2/9.	O5/R8	15.2 mm; 1.65g; 7h	<i>BMC</i> 37
2/10.	O6/R9	19.1 mm; 4.19g; 6h	<i>BMC</i> 33
2/11.	O6/R10	20.3 mm; 4.25g; 6h	<i>BMC</i> 32
2/12.	O7/R11	14 mm; 1.87g; 12h	Arminius Numismatics
2/13.	O7/R12	14.4 mm; 1.61g; 6h	Yale 1938.6000.1666
2/14.	O8/R9	20.0 mm; 5.10g; 1h	Ashmolean Museum (Bodleian)
2/15.	O9/R13	15 mm; 2.3g; 6h	areich (Forum Ancient Coins Members Gallery)
2/16.	O9/R14	16.0 mm; 2.19g; 6h	Ashmolean Museum (Bodleian)
2/17.	O10/R15	14 mm; 1.83g; 6h	CNG 224, 476
2/18.	O11/R16	14 mm; 1.67g; 6h	<i>SNG</i> Hunterian 2490
2/19.	O11/R17	14.5 mm; 2.17g; 6h	Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna (GR 22757 = Eckhel p. 508)

2/20.	O12/R18	15.2 mm; 1.87g; 6h	<i>BMC</i> 36
2/21.	O12/R19	15.0 mm; 2.2g; 6h	Author's collection. Private Syrian collection (n/a; n/a; n/a)
2/22.	O13/R20	15.6 mm; 1.64g; 6h	<i>SNG Righetti</i> 2568
2/23.	O14/R9	19.1 mm; 4.98g; 6h	<i>BMC</i> 31
2/24.	O15/R21	17.0 mm; 2.05g; 6h	Lindgren III 1559
2/25.	O-/R22	20.2 mm; 4.06g; 6h	Yale 1938.6000.1659
2/26.	O-/R23	n/a; n/a; n/a	Bassem.D eBay auction 20.2.2014
2/27.	O-/R24	19.0 mm; 3.86g; 6h	Sayles and Lavender VCoins website (16153)
2/28.	O-/R-	14.0 mm; 1.27g; 6h	Yale 1938.6000.2539
2/29.	O-/R-	13.0 mm; 1.90g; 6h	<i>SNG Milan XII</i> , 4, 84, 14

Type 2 has the same imagery as Type 1 coins, but with the legends IMP CAES M AVR ANTONINVS PF AVG and COL AVR METROPOLI ANTONINIANA (and variants) (see **Pl. 22, 3**). A sample of 29 coins range 13 – 20.3 mm and 1.34g – 5.1g with a mean of 15.8 mm (SD: 2.37 mm) and 2.47g (SD: 1.1g). The typical die orientation is 180 degrees (6 o'clock). The most commonly encountered obverse dies are **O1** (4 specimens); and **O5**, **O6**, **O11**, and **O12** (2 specimens each). The most commonly encountered reverse dies are **R9** (3 specimens), and **R2** and **R19** (2 specimens each). Only one set of die-duplicates has been recorded (**O12/R19** with 2 specimens).

TYPE 3

OBVERSE DIES

O1	[IMPCAES]-ANTONINV (same die as Type 1, O5)
O2	[]-ON-VCPR[] (same die as Type 1, O18)
O3	AVTOSI-[] (same die as Type 1, O26)
O4	MAVRANTO-NIN-VSPFAVC (same die as Type 1, O45)
O5	MAVFSTO-NIN[]PFCCC (same die as Type 1, O 50)
O6	MAVRANTO-NINVSPFAVC (same die as Type 1, O54)
O7	MIAOR[]
O8	MAVTA[]-ΔSFTC
O9	MAVRANT[?]-SFPST
O10	MAVRFSI[?]TONAC (S reversed)
O11	[]VSFI-[]
O12	[]-NVT
O13	MAVRANTON-INVSPF[]
O14	MAVRFSI-TONAIC•
O15	[]AIC
O16	AVTKMAPANTONINOC

REVERSE DIES

R1	COIMETANT-ONINIANAΔV
R2	COIMETAN-TO-NINI
R3	[COI]METANT-ONINIAN[A]
R4	COIMETANT-ONINIAN
R5	[COIME]TAN-TO-NINIANA
R6	COIMETANTO-NINIANAΔV

R7 [COIMETANTO]-NINIANAΛV
 R8 COIMETANTO-NINIANAΛV
 R9 COIMETANTO-[NINIANAΛ]V
 R10 COIMETANTO-NINIANAΛИ
 R11 [C]OIMETANTO-NINIANAΛVT
 R12 COIMETANTO-[]
 R13 COIM[ETANTONINIANA]
 R14 COIMETANTO-NINIANANA
 R15 COIMETANTO-NINIANAΛVP-X
 R16 COIMETAN-TONINIE
 R17 COIMETANT-[]
 R18 [COIMET]ANTO-NINIAN
 R19 [COIMET]ANTO-NINIANAΛV
 R20 COIMETANT-ONINIANA-Λ-V-P
 R21 COIMETANTO-NINIANAΛVP
 R22 [COIMETAN]TONINIAN
 R23 COIMETANT-ONINIANA
 R24 [COIMET]ANTO-NINIANA
 R25 [COIMETAN]TONINIANA[ΛV]
 R26 [COIM]ETANT-ONIAN[]
 R27 COIMETANT-ONINIA[NA]
 R28 COIMET[AN]TONINIAN
 R29 COIME[TAN]-TO-NINIAN
 R30 COIMETANTO-NINIANAΛV
 R31 COIMETANT-ONINIANA[]
 R32 COIMETANTO-NINIANA
 R33 []OAMETANT-O-NIN[]
 R34 COIMETANTO-NINIAN[]
 R35 [COIMETANTO]-NINIANA

COINS

<i>Coin</i>	<i>Obv./Rev.</i>	<i>Size; weight; axis</i>	<i>References and (where identified) die-duplicates</i>
3/1.	O1/R1	18.0 mm; 3.43g; 6h	Triton XIV, A.K. coll. 563, G013
3/2.	O2/R2	19.1 mm; 3.78g; 6h	<i>BMC</i> 40
3/3.	O3/R3	n/a; n/a; n/a	gali491 eBay auction 16.3.2014
3/4.	O4/R4	18.0 mm; n/a; n/a	Pharaoh_crypt eBay auction 16.2.2014
3/5.	O4/R5	18.5 mm; 3.85g; 6h	<i>SNG</i> Copenhagen 184
3/6.	O4/R6	n/a; 3.23g; n/a	BnF AA.GR.25143
3/7.	O4/R7	19.1 mm; 4.17g; 6h	<i>BMC</i> 39
3/8.	O4/R8	19.0 mm; 3.85g; n/a	Gert Boersema VCoins website
3/9.	O4/R9	18.0 mm; 4.05g; 6h	Jean Elsen et ses Fils 99, 1573
3/10.	O4/R10	17.0 mm; 3.06g; n/a	Author's collection
3/11.	O4/R11	21.5 mm; 4.16g; 12h	Pavlos S. Pavlou VCoins website
3/12.	O4/R12	20.3 mm; 4.25g; 6h	<i>BMC</i> 38
3/13.	O4/R-	18.0 mm; 4.45g; 6h	Author's collection
3/14.	O4/R-	17.6 mm; 2.9g; 6h	Forum Ancient Coins Discussion Board (Bamba123)
3/15.	O5/R13	18.0 mm; 3.60g; 6h	VCoins Auction

3/16.	O5/R14	17.5 mm; 3.06g; 6h	Cerberus Ancient Coins VCoins website (1975). lovetobrew (Tantaluscoins.com) (17.0 mm; 3.60g; n/a). Private Syrian collection (n/a; n/a; n/a)
3/17.	O5/R15	18.0 mm; 2.9g; 6h	Gitbud & Naumann VCoins website
3/18.	O5/R16	17.0 mm; 3.95g; 7h	Gert Boersema VCoins website
3/19.	O5/R17	17.7 mm; 2.70g; 6h	Yale 2001.87.9460
3/20.	O6/R14	18.0 mm; 4.53g; n/a	denant eBay auction (13.12.2013)
3/21.	O6/R18	n/a; 3.75g; 6h	BnF M 5511
3/22.	O6/R19	20.3 mm; 3.49g; 6h	<i>BMC</i> 42
3/23.	O7/R20	n/a; 3.41g; n/a	BnF, Chandon de Briailles 1181. VCoins 290, lot 264 (18.85mm; 3.1g; 6h)
3/24.	O7/R21	17.0 mm; 4.71g; n/a	shoppin4me2 eBay auction 12.4.2014 (310921780758)
3/25.	O8/R22	19.0 mm; n/a; 6h	Triton XIV, A.K. coll. 563, G016
3/26.	O8/R23	18.85 mm; 3.1g; 6h	Ancient Imports VCoins website
3/27.	O8/R24	18.0 mm; 3.27g; 6h	Forum Ancient Coins Discussion Board (Rocketjc 6.3.2006)
3/28.	O8/R25	19.0 mm; 3.29g; 7h	Triton XIV, A.K. coll. 563, G017
3/29.	O8/R26	n/a; 4.03g; n/a	BnF AA.GR.1117 (listed under Arabia)
3/30.	O9/R27	19.0 mm; 4.00g; n/a	Arminius Numismatics
3/31.	O10/R4	18.0 mm; 3.73g; 6h	CNG 224, 478
3/32.	O10/R28	19.0 mm; 4.11g; 6h	Ashmolean Museum
3/33.	O11/R4	17.8 mm; 3.69g; 6h	<i>BMC</i> 41
3/34.	O11/R29	17.0 mm; 3.13g; 6h	Ashmolean Museum (Bodleian)
3/35.	O12/R30	19.0 mm; 3.90g; 6h	Aegean Numismatics VCoins website (050964)
3/36.	O12/R31	18.0 mm; 3.65g; 12h	<i>SNG</i> Milan XII, 4, 84, 13
3/37.	O13/R6	18.0 mm; 4.20g; 6h	<i>SNG</i> Hunterian 2488. Ashmolean Museum (Douce) (19.0 mm; 4.0g; 7h). Münzhandlung Ritter VCoins website (n/a; n/a; n/a)
3/38.	O13/R27	18.0 mm; 3.49g; 6h	Yale 2001.87.9463
3/39.	O13/R32	n/a; 3.17g; 6h	BnF 1893
3/40.	O14/R27	n/a; 3.37g; n/a	BnF, Luynes 3467
3/41.	O15/R14	17.3 mm; 3.63g; 6h	Yale 2001.87.13474. Triton XIV, A.K. coll. 563, G014 (18.0 mm; 3.66g; 5h)
3/42.	O16/R33	18.0 mm; 4.72g; 6h	<i>SNG</i> Milan XII, 4, 84, 19
3/43.	O-/R1	n/a; n/a; n/a	Private Syrian collection
3/44.	O-/R27	18.0 mm; 3.92g; 6h	www.wildwinds.com
3/45.	O-/R34	17.0 mm; 3.77g; 6h	London Ancient Coins 32, 8 January 2014
3/46.	O-/R35	18.8 mm; 4.03g; 6h	Yale 2001.87.9461

Type 3 coins maintain the same obverse image of a bearded, laureate bust of Caracalla facing right, but the reverse image is a bust of Tyche facing right and wearing a mural crown, draped and veiled, with a cornucopia in the field before her (see **Pl. 22, 4**). The obverse legend is the same as Type 1 M AVR ANTONINVS PF AVG, while the complete reverse legend reads COL MET ANTONINIANA AVR. A total of 52 coins were examined, ranging 17.0 - 21.5 mm and 2.7g - 4.71g with a mean of 18.31 mm (SD: 0.76 mm) and 3.65g (SD: 0.39g). The typical die orientation is 180 degrees (6 o'clock). Only 16

obverse dies are recorded for Type 3 coins, 10 of which are specific to Type 3 and six are shared with Type 1. The most commonly encountered obverse dies are **O4** (11 specimens), **O5** (6 specimens), and **O8** and **O13** (5 specimens each). The most commonly encountered reverse dies are **R14** (6 specimens), **R6** and **R27** (4 specimens each), and **R4** (3 specimens). Three sets of die-duplicates have been recorded: **O5/R14** (3 specimens), and **O7/R20** and **O13/R4** (2 specimens each).

One coin stands out for both its iconography and legend. Coin **3/42** (*SNG* Milan XII, 4, 84, 19) has a long-haired, laureate bust wearing a paludamentum and cuirass, seen from behind and facing right. The obverse legend seems to be partly in Greek, ΑΥΤΚΜΑΡΑΝΤΟΝΙΝΟC. The reverse has the traditional bust of Tyche wearing a mural crown, draped and veiled, with either a botched cornucopia or a flower in the field before. It is stylistically similar to coin **3/2** (*BMC* 40). The reverse inscription is partially legible, reading []METANT-O-NIN[]. The authors of *SNG* Milan record the reverse legend as ΚΟΑΜΕΤΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟ[], but the first three letters are off the flan and the W is obviously an O. It is possibly a hybrid coin with a novel Greek obverse and a Latin reverse. In addition, the object in the reverse field may be a flower, which would establish this coin as another type. Unless additional specimens are discovered to support this reassignment, however, it is included in Type 3.

TYPE 4

OBVERSE DIES

- O1 MAVRAN-TO-NINIAV
O2 MAVRANTONI-NTAVG

REVERSE DIES

- R1 COIMETANT-ONINIANA
R2 COLMETA-NTONIN-I
R3 COIMET-ANTONC
R4 [COIMET]AN-TONITIV[]

COINS

<i>Coin</i>	<i>Obv./Rev.</i>	<i>Size; weight; axis</i>	<i>Reference and (where identified) die-duplicates</i>
4/1.	O1/R1	18.5 mm; 4.86g; 7h	Münzen & Medaillen 20, 957
4/2.	O1/R2	18.0 mm; 3.6g; 6h	Author's collection
4/3.	O1/R3	20.3 mm; 3.01g; 6h	<i>BMC</i> 44
4/4.	O2/R4	17.8 mm; 3.06g; 6h	<i>BMC</i> 43

Type 4 is rare (only four specimens are known to the author). The obverse image is a thinner, slightly bearded bust of Caracalla facing right and wearing a laureate crown, while the reverse is a bust of Tyche wearing a mural crown and a veil with a serpent rising in the field before her. The obverse legend reads M AVR ANTONINI AVG, while the full reverse legend is COL MET ANTONINIANA (see **Pl. 22, 5**).

The typical die orientation is 180 degrees (6h), and no dies are shared with any other type. The coins range from 17.8 – 20.3 mm and 3.01 – 4.86g, with a mean of 18.65 mm (SD: 0.825 mm) and 3.63g (SD: 0.61g).

TYPE 5 COINS

OBVERSE DIE

O1 MAVRAN-TONINVSPFAVG

REVERSE DIES

R1 COIMETANTO-NINIANAA YAALEX

R2 COWETAN-[TONINI]ANI-CX

COINS

<i>Coin</i>	<i>Obv./Rev.</i>	<i>Size; weight; axis</i>	<i>Reference</i>
5/1.	O1/R1	n/a; 2.16g; 1h	BnF AA.GR.5155
5/2.	O1/R2	15.2 mm; 2.20g; 6h	BMC 34

Type 5: Only two specimens of this type are known to the author, defined by a wreath on the obverse in the field before a fully bearded, laureate bust of Caracalla facing right and disrupting the legend. The reverse image is a bust of Tyche facing right, wearing a mural crown and veil. The obverse legend on both coins reads M AVR ANTONINVS PF AVG, but the reverse legends read COL MET ANTONINIANA AV ALEX and COL MET AN[TONINI]ANI C X (see **Pl. 22, 6**).

Overall, the five types of Latin coins are defined by their reverse legends and iconography, notably the presence of a cornucopia, serpent or wreath. These symbols may have religious significance, but it is possible that they also serve as emission marks or control marks or indicate workshops in which the coins were produced. The size and weight variation of Type 1 coins is much greater than those of the other types, possibly indicating less organisational control than Types 2-5. The relative lack of shared dies between the five types probably indicates that they were produced at separate times or in separate places (although the same engraver produced most of the dies). Furthermore, the relative paucity of die-duplicates perhaps indicates that the dies were drawn from 'die boxes'. Among the coin types that do share dies, the fact that Type 3 has ten other dies (a majority of its obverse dies) that are not found in Type 1 coins suggests that the six dies were either leftovers or borrowed from Type 1 production.

Legend Errors and the Problem of CA

It is now necessary to reassess the evidence that points to Carrhae as the mint, namely Eckhel's reading of CA (or more accurately CΛ) in the legend COL AVR METROPOLI ANTONINIANA CA. The coin in question (coin 2/19 above; reverse die **R17**) is still part of the collection of the Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna (GR 22757; 14.5 mm, 2.17g, 6h; see **Pl. 22, 1**). The reverse legend is unique, although the coin's obverse die is also used on a coin with the reverse legend COL AVR METROPOLI ANTONINIANA (*SNG* Hunterian 2490, coin 2/18 above). It is far

more likely that CA is an error rather than an abbreviation for Carrhae. Errors are common on the Latin coins, consisting of misspellings, missing words or letters, reversed or incomplete letters (identified as Error A below), and the use of Greek letters in place of Latin (identified as Error B below; for an example, see **Pl. 22, 7**). For obverse dies, this commonly includes the use of AVT or AVC (usually with an elongated upper curve) as well as the use of Λ for A. For reverse dies, problems occur principally at the end of the legend. While the engraver uses the letter A in ANTONINIANA, he writes the A in AVRELIA and ALEXANDRIA as Λ and follows it with either Latin or Greek letters. Thus, AVRELIA is abbreviated Λ, ΛV, ΛVR or ΛVP, while ALEXANDRIA is abbreviated ΛI or ΛIEX: note that the engraver does not use a double Λ, but consistently relies on the combination of the Greek letter and a lower-case Latinate l. In addition, the E in ALEX is usually lunate, giving it the appearance of C, while in some cases X looks very much like Λ with lines crossing only slightly at the top. The percentage of errors by coin type is as follows:

OBVERSE DIE ERRORS

<i>Type</i>	<i>No. of obv. dies</i>	<i>Error A</i>	<i>Error B</i>	<i>Total errors</i>
TYPE 1	58	21 (36.2%)	30 (51.7 %)	51 (87.9%)
TYPE 2	16	6 (37.5 %)	4 (25.0 %)	10 (62.5%)
TYPE 3	10 (16)	7 (70%)	3 (30%)	10 (100%)
TYPE 4	2	2 (100%)	0	2 (100%)
TYPE 5	1	0	1 (100%)	1 (100%)
Total	87	36 (41.4 %)	38 (43.7%)	74 (85.1%)

REVERSE DIE ERRORS

<i>Type</i>	<i>No. of rev. dies</i>	<i>Error A</i>	<i>Error B</i>	<i>Total errors</i>
TYPE 1	84	19 (22.6%)	36 (42.9%)	55 (65.5%)
TYPE 2	25	7 (28.0%)	15 (60.0%)	22 (88.0%)
TYPE 3	35	4 (11.4%)	12 (34.3%)	16 (45.7%)
TYPE 4	4	2 (50.0%)	0	2 (50.0%)
TYPE 5	2	2 (100%)	0	2 (100%)
Total	150	34 (22.7%)	63 (42.0%)	95 (63.3%)

REVERSE DIE ERRORS (A and B) IN LAST TWO LETTERS OF LEGEND

<i>Type</i>	<i>No. of dies</i>	<i>Percentage of dies</i>
TYPE 1	27	32.1%
TYPE 2	14 (not inc. CA)	56.0%
TYPE 3	14	40.0%
TYPE 4	2	50.0%
TYPE 5	1	50.0%
Total	58	38.7%

As the chart above reveals, 88.0 % of the reverse dies on Type 2 coins had an error either in the form of misspelled or misplaced letters or the use of Greek letters in

place of Latin letters. Because CA occurs as the last two letters of the reverse legend, an assessment of end-of-legend errors was undertaken. The number of Type 2 dies with errors in the last two letters is 56.0%, which does not include the CA coin. This high percentage strengthens the claim that CA is an error, whether as two misplaced letters or as a botched version of EX. There is EX alone on one Type 1 die (**R71**) and one Type 3 die (**R16**) and CX on one Type 5 die (**R2**). If CA stands for Carrhae, however, we must ask why the abbreviation is very scarce (0.43 % of all the dies examined). Unless more specimens with CA or CA come to light, it is necessary to dismiss Eckhel's identification of Carrhae as the mint for the Latin coins.

Carrhae's Continued Production

Another factor directing attention away from Carrhae is the continued production of coins there with the traditional iconography and legends in Greek just prior to and during the sole reign of Caracalla. Several coin types were issued during the earlier part of Septimius Severus' reign, consisting of crescent-and-star types for Severus and Caracalla (who appears beardless),⁷ and a series of coins for Severus consisting of the moon-god Sîn seated and holding a cornucopia and branch/tree arising from a patera or bowl,⁸ another of Baalshamin (or Sîn in his guise) seated and holding a branch and grape leaves,⁹ and a third of the temple of Sîn, within which is a baetyl surmounted by a crescent and flanked by two standards (the coins with Sîn seated and some of the temple coins share the same obverse die).¹⁰ We find no issues for Geta and Julia Domna. Just prior to the sole reign of Caracalla, however, Carrhae issued a series of coins for all of the members of the imperial family (probably between the years AD 208-211). To judge from the style of the busts and the legends, all the dies appear to be the product of a single engraver. The types are:

1. Laureate bust of Septimius Severus facing right / Bust of Tyche (or Atargatis) wearing a mural crown facing left; crescent with socket and tassels before bust¹¹ (**Pl. 22, 8**)
2. Laureate bust of Septimius Severus facing right / Laureate bust of Caracalla facing right; crescent with socket and tassels before bust¹² (**Pl. 22, 9**)

⁷ For Septimius Severus, see ANS 1971.193.28; British Museum 1937.0614.1 and 1938.1214.4; BnF 1841-2 and M 5505; CNG electronic auction 246, 239; *SNG Fitzwilliam* 1995; *SNG Hunterian* 2481-3. For Caracalla, see British Museum 1980.0621.8; CNG electronic auction 196, 176; CNG Triton XIV, A.K. coll. 563, G018 and G023-4; Harvard 1979.419.182; Jean Elsen et ses Fils 116, 589; Lindgren III 1557; and Nummorum Auctiones 7, 1422

⁸ Three known specimens: Lindgren I 2258; Münzen & Medaillen 20, 951; and wildwinds.com.

⁹ Two known specimens: *BMC* 83, 5; and BnF 1893A. I identify the figure as Baalshamin on the basis of its iconography. The figure is very similar to the Baalters found on Cilician AR staters, who is seated and holds the same branch and grape leaves (for example *SNG Copenhagen* 300, *SNG France* 282-3 and 332, *SNG Levante* 83 and 106, and *SNG von Aulock* 5543).

¹⁰ Over 40 specimens known to the author. For examples, see *BMC* 4; BnF 1845-48; BnF M 5506; BnF Y 28638.1; Lindgren I 2557; Münzen & Medaillen 20, 950; *SNG Hunterian* 2480.

¹¹ Five known specimens: two from the author's collection; *BMC* 7; British Museum 1980.0907.3; and a private Syrian collection.

¹² One known specimen: CNG 196, 174.

3. Laureate bust of Septimius Severus wearing a paludamentum and a cuirass vis-à-vis laureate bust of Caracalla wearing a paludamentum and a cuirass / Bust of Tyche (or Atargatis) wearing a mural crown facing left; crescent with socket and tassels before bust (same reverse die as 1. above)¹³ (Pl. 23, 10)
4. Laureate bust of Septimius Severus wearing a paludamentum and a cuirass vis-à-vis laureate bust of Caracalla wearing a paludamentum and a cuirass / Draped bust of Julia Domna facing right; crescent with socket and tassels before bust¹⁴ (Pl. 23, 11)
5. Laureate bust of Septimius Severus wearing a paludamentum and a cuirass vis-à-vis laureate bust of Caracalla wearing a paludamentum and a cuirass / Bare bust of Geta wearing a paludamentum; crescent with socket and tassels before bust¹⁵ (Pl. 23, 12)
6. Laureate bust of Caracalla wearing a paludamentum vis-à-vis bare bust of Geta wearing a paludamentum / Eight-ray star over crescent¹⁶ (Pl. 23, 13)

Other coin types produced by the same engraver stand out because they potentially indicate a transition from the reign of Septimius Severus to that of Caracalla. There are no corresponding issues for Julia Domna and Geta. One type consists of coins with a baetyl on the reverse. There are four specimens for Septimius Severus known to the author, which are produced from two obverse and two reverse dies. Each has a laureate bust facing right with a reverse depicting a baetyl surmounted by a crescent with tassels and dangling fillets set on a table. Two coins read CEIT-I-CEOY on the obverse and KAPHN-AYPHAIA on the reverse. Two other specimens read CEITI-CEOY on the obverse and KAPHN AYPHAIO on the reverse (for example, see Pl. 23, 14).¹⁷ Two specimens for Caracalla are known to the author. The obverse has a bust wearing a laureate crown, a paludamentum and a cuirass facing right and seen from behind. The obverse legend on one reads ANTWNH3 [] (Pl. 23, 15), while another reads AYTMAINT-ONINOC (Pl. 23, 16).¹⁸ The reverse has a baetyl surmounted by a crescent with tied tassels or bells set on a table, with the legend KAPKO-AMHTPO. While the obverse legend of the first coin is botched, the obverse busts and reverse legends are similar to coins produced later for Caracalla.

A second type has a crab above a crescent; three specimens are known to the author. One is produced by the same engraver as the dynastic coins above. The obverse has a laureate bust of Caracalla facing right and the legend reads M[A]NT[], while the reverse has a crab facing downwards over a crescent with a partial legend [

¹³ One known specimen: *Münzen & Medaillen* 20, 952.

¹⁴ Eight known specimens: author's collection = H.D. Rauch 12th e-auction, 546; BnF 1849 and 1851; British Museum 1977.0501.4; Triton XIV, A.K. coll. 563, G008; Numismatik Lanz 92, 797; *SNG Righetti* 2557; and Yale 1938.6000.1656.

¹⁵ Four known specimens: author's collection = Gitbud & Naumann VCoins website (item 2932); BnF M 5507; Gert Boersema VCoins website (item 5054); and Lindgren I 2559.

¹⁶ Over 50 specimens known to the author. For examples, see *BMC* 45-48; BnF 1852-54; BnF M 5512; BnF, Chandon de Briailles 1178.

¹⁷ See BnF 1834 (n/a; 2.11g; 6h); CNG 196, 173 (18.0 mm; 2.31g; 6h); CNG 250, 294 (16.0 mm; 2.50g; 6h); and *Münzen & Medaillen* 20, 953 (14.0 mm; n/a; n/a).

¹⁸ BnF M 5509 (n/a; 1.87g; 11h); *Münzen & Medaillen* 20, 959 (14.0 mm; n/a; n/a).

]ONEIAMHTP[].¹⁹ The two other specimens are produced from the same dies and appear to be part of a series with the baetyl coins mentioned above. The obverse has a bust wearing a laureate crown, a paludamentum and a cuirass facing right and seen from behind with the legend AYTMA Ω N-ONINOC, while the reverse has a crab facing upwards over a crescent with the reverse legend []NEIA-MHTP[] (Pl. 23, 17).²⁰

Given the stylistic similarities with the dynastic issues, it is likely that the baetyl and crescent-and-crab coins for Caracalla are the creation of the same or similarly trained engraver, while the obverse and reverse legends indicate a break from the reign of Septimius Severus. Thus, these coins perhaps represent the earliest issues for Caracalla during his sole reign.

The same hand was responsible for creating dies for the more common crescent-and-star coins. To judge from a sample of 16 specimens, three types were minted for Caracalla during this period. The first depicts a bearded bust of the emperor wearing a laureate crown with the obverse legend ANTΩNI-NOC. The reverse type is a crescent and star with the legend KAPPKOAMHTPOI (Pl. 23, 18). Six specimens are known to the author, ranging from 14 – 18.6 mm and 1.51 – 4.67g, with a mean of 16.15 mm and 3.33g.²¹ The second type has the same bearded bust and laureate crown, but the obverse legend reads MAYPANTΩNI-NOC, while the reverse reads KAPPKOAMHTPOI (Pl. 24, 19). Eight specimens are known to the author, ranging from 19 – 21.7 mm and 3.4 – 5.74g, with a mean of 19.88 mm and 4.53g.²² The third type of crescent-and-star coins has a bearded bust wearing a laureate crown, cuirass and paludamentum, seen from behind. The legend reads AYTOKP•ANTWN•CEB. The reverse has a crescent and star with the legend KOAMHTPKAPPHWN (see Pl. 24, 20). Two specimens are known to the author.²³

A few observations are in order. Firstly, it is unlikely that Carrhae produced two very different types of coins simultaneously. The coins from Carrhae discussed above have traditional civic iconography and Greek script, while the Latin coins have a novel script and iconography—the bust of Tyche was used at Carrhae on only two issues (and one die) under Septimius Severus (and it is possible that this figure represents Atargatis rather than Tyche).²⁴ Secondly, the crescent-and-star (and

¹⁹ From a private Dutch collection. The author has a photograph of the coin, but has not received further data or permission to use the image.

²⁰ Forum Ancient Coins Discussion Board (Nassif) (14.0 mm; 2.0g; 6h); Istanbul Archaeological Museum K.D. 650-1730 (15.0 mm; 2.9g; 6h).

²¹ BnF 1866 (n/a; 4.67g; n/a); Harlan Berk Ancient Coins website (14.0 mm; n/a; 6h); shoppin4me2 eBay auction 8.8.2009 (item 310159159178) (17.0 mm; 4.33g; 6h); SNG Copenhagen 174; Yale 1938.6000.1671 (15.0 mm; 1.51g; 12h); and Yale 2001.87.9466 (18.6 mm; 2.56g; 6h).

²² Author's collection (19.0 mm; 3.9g; 6h); BnF, Chandon de Briailles 1174 (n/a; 5.74g; 6h); Forum Ancient Coins website (item RP57175) (20.6 mm; 4.99g; 6h); Forum Ancient Coins Discussion Board (Nassif) 25.1.2014 (19.0 mm; 3.4g; 6h); private Syrian collection (n/a; n/a; n/a); SNG Hunterian 2484 (20.0 mm; 4.83g; 6h); SNG Newcastle 824 (19.0 mm; 3.62g; 6h); and Yale 1938.6000.1670 (21.7 mm; 5.24g; 5h).

²³ BnF 1865 (n/a; 4.81g; n/a) and BMC 15 (19.0 mm; 4.41g; 6h).

²⁴ Note, however, the small bronze coins of Commodus with the bust of Tyche on the reverse and the legend YIIEP NIKHC PΩMAIΩN. Some collections attribute them to Carrhae (BnF 1836-39), others to Edessa (ANS 1944.100.65855; SNG Copenhagen 191-92; SNG Munich 2 and 4) or to an uncertain mint (see entries for the Ashmolean and Fitzwilliam Museums in *RPC Online*, nos 8046-47).

baetyl plus crescent-and-crab) coins from Carrhae are smaller and lighter than the dynastic issues and align with the Latin coins in terms of size and weight. This is probably the result of either the mint at Carrhae copying the size and weight of the Latin coins or an attempt to standardize regional production. Thirdly, the third type is of especial interest because it has both a bust and legend that aligns with what we find on the tetradrachms minted for Caracalla in the east in 215-217. Finally, we do not find on these coins any of Carrhae's other colonial titles, in particular Aurelia. Instead, only the city's colonial and metropolitan status and its abbreviated or full name (KAPP, KAPHN or KAPPHNWN) are provided. In this respect, there is no similarity between these and the Latin coins. In fact, as we shall see, an analysis of civic titles found in papyrological evidence from Mesopotamia allows us to eliminate Carrhae and to establish Edessa as the mint for the Latin coins.

Status and Nomenclature of Carrhae and Edessa

Part of Eckhel's argument that the Latin coins belong to Carrhae involves the titles *colonia*, *metropolis* and the honorific name of Aurelia, all of which were held by Carrhae.²⁵ However, Syriac documents found near Dura-Europos and inside the city point to Edessa as the city bearing the civic nomenclature Colonia Metropolis Antoniniana Aurelia Alexandria. A lease of repossessed property known as Document B, part of a trove of documents found near Dura-Europos, which the municipal government at Marcopolis Thera (Charax Sidou/Anthemousia) issued in AD 242/3, refers to Edessa as 'the renowned Antoniniana Edessa, Colonia Metropolis Aurelia Alexandria (lower text, lines 3-4: 'NTWNYN' 'DYS' NŠYHT' QLWNY' MTRPWLS 'WPLY' 'LKSNDRY').'²⁶ A second Syriac document recording the sale of a female slave known as *P Dura* 28, found at Dura-Europos, confirms this title, 'Antoniniana Edessa the Glorious, Colonia Metropolis Aurelia Alexandria (lower text, line 4: 'NTWNYN' 'DYS' NŠYHT' QLWNY' MTRPWLS 'WPLY' 'LKSNDRY').'²⁷ Note that both documents refer to Edessa in the same manner, probably indicating a formulaic title for the city. There is some debate as to when Edessa acquired the honorific titles. The initial publishers of *P. Dura* 28, Bellinger and Welles, believed that this title existed from the liberation of the city from Severus Abgar IX in AD 212/13 and that Caracalla's obsession with Alexander the Great was the reason for the name Alexandria.²⁸ Segal, Millar and Ross argue, however, that Edessa acquired her honorific titles gradually: Metropolis and Aurelia during the reign of Elagabalus, and Alexandria or Alexandriana during the reign of Severus Alexander.²⁹

Latin coins with the lengthy title COL MET ANTONINIANA AVR ALEX are abundant, but overall coins with the shorter titles are more common: AVR

²⁵ Eckhel 1828 part 1, vol. 3, p. 508.

²⁶ Drijvers and Healey 1999, pp. 243-8; Teixidor 1990, pp. 144-166; cf. Feissel and Gasco 1939, pp. 535-561; Millar 1993, pp. 478-79; Ross 1993, pp. 191-192.

²⁷ See Drijvers and Healey (1999), pp. 232-6; Teixidor (1990); Goldstein, 'The Syriac bill of sale from Dura-Europos', *JNES* 25 (1966), pp. 1-16.

²⁸ Bellinger and Welles 1935, p. 143. See Cassius Dio (78.7-8) and Herodian (4.8.1) for Caracalla's fixation with the Macedonian king.

²⁹ Millar 1993, pp. 476 and 479, who believes that Edessa's colonial status was probably acquired under Elagabalus, although possibly under Caracalla; Ross 2001, pp. 58-59; Segal 1970, pp. 14-15.

METROPOLI ANTONIAN, COL MET ANTONIANA AVR, COL MET ANTONINIAN, or COL MET ANTONINIANA. It is apparent that the engravers and the city itself sought to highlight its title ANTONINIANA. In *P Dura* 28, Edessa is called 'Antoniniana Edessa, the glorious', which emphasises not just its colonial foundation under Caracalla but is also the shorthand by which the city identified itself. While it is important to recall that coins do not necessarily express the full official nomenclature or the status of a community, the Latin coins seem to highlight everything but the name of the city. Moreover, contrary to Segal, Millar and Ross, the Latin coins combined with Document B and *P Dura* 28 support the proposition that the comprehensive name Colonia Metropolis Antoniniana Aurelia Alexandria existed since AD 212/13 and was not acquired piecemeal.³⁰

Coinage produced by Carrhae bears several titles, beginning with Carrhae Colonia under Marcus Aurelius.³¹ During the reign of Commodus we see Aurelia Carrhae³², Carrhae Colonia³³, and possibly Lucia Aurelia Carrhae.³⁴ On issues for Septimius Severus, we find coins with Carrhae Colonia³⁵, Carrhae Aurelia³⁶, Colonia Aurelia Carrhae³⁷, Lucia Aurelia Carrhae³⁸, Colonial Metropolis Carrhae³⁹, and Lucia Aurelia Carrhae Colonia.⁴⁰ The Severan dynastic issues from Carrhae (with Septimius Severus and Caracalla on the obverse and Julia Domna or Geta on the reverse; or with Septimius Severus on the obverse and Caracalla on the reverse) have the same reverse legend, Aurelia Carrhae Colonia Metropolis.⁴¹ The vast majority of joint issues for Caracalla and Geta have Carrhae Colonia Metropolis⁴², although a few have Aurelia Carrhae Colonia Metropolis.⁴³ Individual issues for Caracalla during his father's reign refer to the city as Carrhae Colonia Aurelia⁴⁴ and Lucia Aurelia Carrhae Colonia.⁴⁵ Finally, as mentioned above, the coins issued for Caracalla during

³⁰ For the 'liberation' of the city, see Cassius Dio 78.12.1; cf. Millar 1990, p. 47; Millar (1993), pp. 473, 476-77; Ross 1993, pp. 194-195, who argues for 213/14 for the abolition of the Abgarid monarchy; he corrects this date to 212/13 in Ross (2001), pp. 58-59.

³¹ Münzen & Medaillen GmbH Auction 20, 945.

³² BMC 2; Forum Ancient Coins Members' Gallery (Laney); gitbudnaumann eBay auction 4.7.2013; Lindgren I, 2556; and Münzen & Medaillen 20, 948.

³³ Triton XIV, A.K. coll., 563, G004; Münzen & Medaillen 20, 947; and author's collection.

³⁴ BnF 1833 and AA.GR.5147 = RPC online no. 8045; Forum Ancient Coins Members' Gallery (Lee S).

³⁵ BnF 1843; CNG 246, 239; and Yale 1938.6000.1652.

³⁶ BnF 1834; CNG 196, 173; CNG 250, 294; and Münzen & Medaillen 20, 953.

³⁷ SNG Hunterian 2482-83.

³⁸ BnF M 5505; SNG Hunterian 2481.

³⁹ BnF 1893A; BMC 6, pl. XII, 7.

⁴⁰ BnF 1846; BMC 4, pl. XII, 4; Triton XIV, A.K. coll., 563, G005-6; Lindgren I, 2557-58; Münzen & Medaillen 20, 951; and SNG Fitzwilliam 1995.

⁴¹ For Septimius Severus and Caracalla, see CNG 196, 174. For Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Geta, see BnF M 5507; Gert Boersema VCoins website (item 5054); Gitbud and Naumann VCoins website (item 2932); and Lindgren I, 2559. For Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Julia Domna, see BnF 1849 and 1851; Triton XIV, A.K. coll., 563, G008; Rauch 12th e-Auction, 546; Lanz 92, 787; SNG Righetti 2557; and Yale 1938.6000.1656.

⁴² For example, see BnF 1852-54; BnF, Chandon de Briailles 1178; BMC p. 87, nos 46-47; CNG 224, 475; Triton XIV, A.K. coll., 563, G025-28; Harvard 1979.419.190; Münzen & Medaillen 20, 960

⁴³ BnF M 5512; CNG 94, 127; and VCoins auction 230, 590.

⁴⁴ Triton XIV, A.K. coll., 563, G018, G023-24; and Lindgren III, 1557.

⁴⁵ CNG 196, 176; Harvard 1979.419.182; and Jean Elsen et ses Fils 116, 589.

his sole reign present the city as Carrhae Colonia Metropolis. The accumulation of numismatic evidence suggests that Carrhae was formally known as (Lucia) Aurelia Colonia Metropolis. A Syriac document of sale drawn up at Carrhae, dated AD 250, confirms this title, referring to that city as 'Aurelia Carrhae Colonia, Metropolis of Mesopotamia.'⁴⁶ This is an important document because scribes familiar with the formulaic language of Carrhae's civic administration and the city's self-presentation produced it. There is no mention of Antoniniana or Alexandria on the coinage or in the Syriac bill of sale from Carrhae. Instead, only its Antonine foundation, colonial status and its importance in relation to other cities in the region is emphasized.

Thus the similarity of civic titulature in both the coins and papyri suggests that Edessa, and not Carrhae, is the mint for the Latin coins. The iconography, to which we now turn, reinforces this conclusion.

Iconography

The most obvious feature of the Latin coins is the veiled, draped and turreted bust of Tyche on the reverse. If we accepted Carrhae as their place of origin, this would mark a dramatic departure from the city's traditional iconography, which had relied principally on crescent-and-star imagery since the reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. Only on issues for Septimius Severus and Septimius Severus/Caracalla do we find a bust appearing as Tyche, but this identification is tentative as the bust wears a odd-looking mural crown with laces, indicating perhaps a special headdress or diadem. In addition, this bust is accompanied by a crescent with socket and tassels, something that we do not find on the Latin coins. It is not until the reign of Elagabalus that we see special issues for Severus Alexander as Caesar with a bust of Tyche on the reverse, but these are very rare and maintain the traditional civic titles of ΚΑΡΑΥΡΚΟΛΩΝ (Carrhae Aurelia Colonia) or ΚΑΚΟΛΜΗΜΕΚΟΠΙ (Carrhae Colonia Metropolis Mesopotamiae).⁴⁷ The bust of Tyche was by contrast commonly used on Edessan coin issues during the reigns of Macrinus and Diadumenian as well as Elagabalus (and on some rarer issues of Severus Alexander), and their civic titulature is similar to that on the Latin coins.⁴⁸ Although coins minted under Macrinus refer to Edessa as ΟΙΕΛΛΙΑ ΜΑΚΡΙΝΙΑ, the coins of Elagabalus emphasize the names ΜΑΡΚΙΑ, which was possibly granted by this emperor, and the continued use of abbreviated forms of ΑΥΡΗΛΙΑ and ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΙΑΝΑ (for example, see **Pl. 24, 21**).⁴⁹

In addition, the use of a cornucopia and serpent on the Latin coins connects them to successive issues from Edessa. Although we do not find a cornucopia on later small bronzes of Edessa, it appears on a few different types of larger bronzes minted

⁴⁶ Feissel and Gascou 1989, no. 10.

⁴⁷ See BnF AA.GR.5151; *BMC* p. 88, no. 53, pl. XII, 25; and Forum Ancient Coins VCoins website (item 6521).

⁴⁸ See Babelon 1904, nos 44-46, 52-56, 58-66.

⁴⁹ For coins with the bust of Tyche, see for example BnF AA.GR.5167, M 5523, 2003, 2007, 2010, and 2016; BnF, Chandon de Briailles 1318; *BMC* 39-46, pl. XIV, 11-12 (assigned to Caracalla); Triton XIV, A.K. coll., 563, G045; *SNG* Hunterian 2545-47; *SNG* Newcastle 837-38; Yale 1938.6000.2637, 2001.87.13677, 2001.87.13678, 2001.87.13680.

under Elagabalus. One shows a large cornucopia in the field behind Tyche, who is seated on rocks, facing left and extending her right hand (Pl. 24, 22).⁵⁰ Another coin shows Tyche in the same position, but with the cornucopia in the field before her (Pl. 24, 23).⁵¹ Here the cornucopia is free-standing, as it is on the Latin coins. Only one issue from Carrhae, minted under Septimius Severus, depicts a cornucopia, but here it is held under the left arm of an enthroned Sîn and is not free-standing.⁵²

Coinage depicting a serpent before the bust of Tyche is scarce, and we find no coins from Carrhae with this image. From Edessa, however, is a small bronze issue minted under Elagabalus (comparable in size, weight and artistic quality with the Latin coins) which depicts a bust of Tyche facing left and a serpent rising before her (Pl. 24, 24).⁵³ Two other larger issues have a serpent rising up before a seated Tyche (Pl. 24, 25).⁵⁴

Conclusion

Numismatic and papyrological evidence undermines Eckhel's attribution of the Latin coins of Caracalla to Carrhae and strongly points to the city of Edessa as the mint. This adjustment from Carrhae to Edessa aligns with historical events in the region and helps to provide a clearer picture of the political and economic transformation of upper Mesopotamia. Following Caracalla's deposition of Severus Abgar IX in 212/13, Edessa was granted colonial status and acquired the name Antoniniana Edessa, Colonia Metropolis Aurelia Alexandria. As it was once the capital of the kingdom of Osroene, under Roman control it became the administrative centre of the province. The coins were minted to advertise Edessa's new status and importance. When the city started to mint these coins is uncertain - possibly in 212-3 or perhaps in 214-5 for the emperor's war effort - but the use of the bust of Tyche to represent the city continued under Caracalla's successors Macrinus, Elagabalus and Severus Alexander. Carrhae continued to mint coins during Caracalla's reign, but these were much fewer in number and used the traditional iconography of the crescent and star and the civic title Carrhae Colonia Aurelia Metropolis Mesopotamiae.

Key to Plates 22-24

1. Bronze coin of Caracalla (AD 211-217); 14.5 mm, 2.17g, 6h. Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna (GR 22757).
2. Bronze coin of Caracalla (AD 211-217); 19.0 mm; 5.51g; 6h. British Museum 1913.1115.15.
3. Bronze coin of Caracalla (AD 211-217); 15.0 mm; 2.41g; 6h. British Museum 1844.0425.2468.
4. Bronze coin of Caracalla (AD 211-217); 21.5 mm; 4.16g; 12h. Pavlos Pavlou VCoins website (item RPC1040).
5. Bronze coin of Caracalla (AD 211-217); 18.5 mm; 4.86g; 7h. Münzen & Medaillen 20, 957.

⁵⁰ Babelon (1893), nos 53-54; BnF 2029 and 2034; BMC p. 100, nos. 60-61, pl. XV, 1.

⁵¹ BMC p. 100, nos 62-63; CNG 205, 340.

⁵² BMC p. 83, nos 6-7, pl. XII, 7; Lindgren I, 2558; Münzen und Medaillen 20, 951.

⁵³ SNG Newcastle 838.

⁵⁴ For example, see Bellinger (1939), no. 12; BMC 65; Triton XIV, A. K. coll., 563, G043.

6. Bronze coin of Caracalla (AD 211-217); 15.5 mm; 2.2g; 6h. British Museum 1908.1111.31.
7. Bronze coin of Caracalla (AD 211-217); 15.0 mm; 2.2g; 6h. Author's collection.
8. Bronze coin of Carrhae of Septimius Severus (AD 193-211); 18.5 mm; 3.70g; 5h. British Museum 1912.1202.5 = *BMC* 83, 7.
9. Bronze coin of Carrhae of Septimius Severus and Caracalla (193-211); 20.0 mm; 7.34g; 12h. *CNG* 196, 174.
10. Bronze coin of Carrhae of Septimius Severus and Caracalla (AD 193-211); 20.0 mm; 5.99g. *Münzen & Medaillen* 20, 952.
11. Bronze coin of Carrhae of Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Julia Domna (AD 193-211); 21.5 mm; 6.81g; 12h. Author's collection (= H.D. Rauch 12th e-auction, 546).
12. Bronze coin of Carrhae of Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Geta (AD 193-211); 18.0 mm; 4.65g; 12h. *BnF M* 5507.
13. Bronze coin of Carrhae of Caracalla and Geta (AD 198-211); 18.0 mm; 4.90g; 6h. *CNG* 224, 475.
14. Bronze coin of Carrhae of Septimius Severus (AD 193-211); 15.0 mm; 2.11g; 6h. *BnF* 1834.
15. Bronze coin of Carrhae of Caracalla (AD 211-217); 15.0 mm; 1.87g; 11h. *BnF M* 5509.
16. Bronze coin of Carrhae of Caracalla (AD 211-217); 14.0 mm; n/a; n/a. *Münzen & Medaillen* 20, 959.
17. Bronze coin of Carrhae of Caracalla (AD 211-217); 15.0 mm; 2.90g; 6h. Istanbul Archaeological Museum, K.D. 650-1730.
18. Bronze coin of Carrhae of Caracalla (AD 211-217); 19.0 mm; 3.9g; 6h. Author's collection.
19. Bronze coin of Carrhae of Caracalla (AD 211-217); 20.0 mm; 4.83g; 6h. *SNG* Hunterian 2484.
20. Bronze coin of Carrhae of Caracalla (AD 211-217); 20.0 mm; 4.81g; n/a. Paris, *BnF* 1865.
21. Bronze coin of Edessa of Elagabalus (AD 218-222); 20.0 mm; 4.52g; 6h. *BnF*, Chandon de Briailles 1318.
22. Bronze coin of Edessa of Elagabalus (AD 218-222); 26.0 mm; 15.03g; 7h. Author's collection.
23. Bronze coin of Edessa of Elagabalus (AD 218-222); 26.0 mm; 12.86g; 6h. Author's collection.
24. Bronze coin of Edessa of Elagabalus (AD 218-222); 19.0 mm; 4.0g; 6h. *SNG* Newcastle 838.
25. Bronze coin of Edessa of Elagabalus (AD 218-222); 24.0 mm; 9.16g; 12h. Triton XIV, A.K. coll., lot 563, coin G043.

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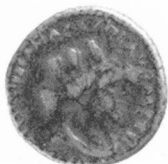
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PLATE 22
(All 1.5x)



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



PLATE 23
(All 1.5x)



DANDROW, THE LATIN COINS OF CARACALLA FROM EDESSA (2)

PLATE 24
(All 1.5x)



19



20



21



22



23



24



25

